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AUTHOR Mackey, William F.
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ABSTRACT

Several aspects of international education are discussed under the following headings: (1) the development of multinational schooling, (2) types of multinational schools, (3) aims and structure of multinational schools, (4) language learning, (5) language problems, and (6) improving the language learning potential. Historically, multinational schools were occasioned by the migration of peoples or the specific need for language instruction and bilingual education. Consequently, these schools differ among themselves in structure, content and goals. Their language learning advantage depends on the bilinguality of the curriculum and on the bilingual make-up of the school population. Generally speaking, multinational schools deal with second language learning in three ways. Some treat language as school subjects; some use them as the language of instruction for other subjects; and some depend on pupil interaction to achieve their bilingualism. The language problems of the schools are connected with interference, language attitudes, and the method and structure of the school. This study concludes that interethnic and interlinguistic interaction are more likely to bilingualize the student population than the lack of these features. An address list of international schools and institutions giving the International Baccalaureate is appended. (AMH)

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William-F. Mackey

Multinational Schools as Language Learning Media

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Multinational schooling is a corollary of population movements engendered by such social phenomena as colonization, evangelization, migration, the activities of multinational corporations and the creation of supranational organizations like the League of Nations, the United Nations and the Common Market.

Colonization from ancient times to the present, from the Persians in the Orient to the Romans in the West has always supposed long residence abroad of the colonizing nationals. Evangelization whether that of Islam or that of the Christian churches was carried out through networks of Koranic or Mission schools in which the language of the true word was often different from that of its beneficiaries. The migration of peoples from the settlement of German tribes into the land of the Gallo-Romans to the modern-day northern flux of millions of European migrant workers has always engendered situations of bilingualism. The activities of multinational and supranational bodies have created mobile bureaucracies whose members insist on a proper education for their children.

1. The Development of Multinational Schooling

Whatever the motive may have been, multinational schooling is of very great antiquity, since it was a necessity in the maintenance of all the literate empires of the ancient world. We know, for example, that more than five centuries before Christ schools in Susa, the administrative capital of the Persian Empire were quadrilingual, operating as they did in Aramaic, Babylonian, Elamite and Old Persian.

Multinational schools have also been found in all quarters of the globe, not only in the ancient Orient but also in many parts of Europe, particularly where the Roman legions established towns with Roman Schools to which children of the non-Roman elite were also admitted. African kingdoms and empires also maintained multilingual schools, such as those in Timbuktu in the 15th century of our era. These multinational schools of the past, however, were restricted either to a professional class, like the scribes and the priests, or to a governing elite. Today multinational schools are also found throughout the world, but with the difference that there are more of them and they touch the lives of many more people and even more are needed. In Germany alone, the number of foreign school-age children has increased at the rate of almost 50,000 a year between 1965 and 1973 when the total had reached 256,000.[34] One type of multinational school association alone recognizes more than a hundred educational institutions in some twenty-five countries (Table I).

The increasing mobility of the work-force is likely to place a greater burden on school systems in Europe and America. The need of the children of some three million migrants in Europe has been well documented (Rosseel)[20] and various solutions have been attempted (Ekstrand).[22] But there is also, in the other direction, a movement of much needed skilled and technical workers — not to speak of the mobile managers and bureaucrats of multinational and supranational organizations (DeBal, Survey).[19] It is estimated that in some countries the annual mobility of the work-force is more than 20%. In urban North America one person in five changes address in any given year; some of these will move to jobs in other countries.[72]

In addition to this steady flux of foreign personnel from one country to another there have been, since the Second World War, periodic mass migrations of political refugees throughout the world, the Hungarians, the Czechs, the Pakistani, the Vietnamese, and the Cubans — to name only these. Some of them have necessitated the creation of special binational and bilingual schools. For example, the settlement of more than a quarter million mostly unilingual Spanish speaking Cubans in the City of Miami in the sixties occasioned a widespread adaptation in the local school-system (Mackey & Beebe).[70]

But it is not only mobility that has brought about such adaptation; it is now the very anticipation of mobility. For example, in anticipation of the transfer of the parents employed in Detroit-based multinational corporations, the Detroit Country Day School has adopted a curriculum preparing students for an International Baccalaureate which will gain them admission to universities throughout the world, while in Ottawa, the Elmwood School has adopted the same programme in anticipation of the needs of the children of parents employed in Canadian diplomatic and external affairs. This can only please the governing bodies of the national and multinational organizations concerned, since one of the deciding factors in attracting the best qualified candidates for service abroad is the future welfare of their children.

Concessions made during the sixties to various racial and ethnic minorities, political refugees and special interest groups was the occasion for a revolt of long-silent language minorities for their own schools (Mackey & Verdoodt).[72] The battle in some countries resulted in the obtaining of legal rights hitherto unknown. In the United States, the Supreme Court interpreted the constitutional provision of equal education for all as meaning the obligation of the state to provide schooling through the home language. This produced a hundred-fold increase in the number of bilingual schools and a corresponding interest in bilingual schooling abroad (Fishman, Survey).[29]

In addition to multinational and multilingual schools occasioned by the influx of foreign workers, political refugees and resurgent minorities, there are schools whose avowed purpose is language learning and the bilingual education of children (Lambert & Tucker).[46]

2. Types of Multinational Schools

With such a wide variety of causes and contexts it is not surprising to find that such schools are not all of the same type. Before we can make any sort of general statement on language education in multinational schools, it is imperative to know exactly what sort of school and nationality we have in mind. To begin with, let us distinguish between nationality and citizenship. Citizenship, the purely arbitrary administrative category of the political state, does not distinguish pupils by language and culture. Pupils whose mother tongue is English may be citizens of any one of some fifty different sovereign states; French speakers may be citizens of any one of thirty different countries. The confusion of the political concept of citizenship with the cultural concept of nationality is a direct result of the creation of the nation-state whereby all citizens are defined as speaking one and the same language and belonging to the same culture. In practice this has rarely, if ever, been the case. The United Nations is not composed of nations in the traditional sense but of sovereign states. Traditionally, nationality has always been associated with differences in language and culture, while there are less than two hundred sovereign states in the world today there are more than three thousand nations each having a distinct cultural and linguistic identity (Mackey & Verdoodt).[72]

In the organizing of multinational schools, citizenship and nationality do not play the same role. Citizenship has important administrative implications. If many of the pupils are not citizens of the country in which the school is located, provisions may have to be made in the curriculums for re-integration into the school systems of the home country. For example, the curriculum of the binational school in Berlin (the J.F. Kennedy Schule) had to be designed in such a way as to integrate American pupils at any level and to organize their studies in such a way as to enable them to be re-admitted into schools in the United States at whatever level they reached. In fact, citizenship has been the main criterion for selecting pupils, so as to keep the school population at 40% American, 50% German and 10% other — mostly Commonwealth citizens (Mackey 1977).[55] Contrariwise, from the point of view of the actual learning and teaching of the pupils, especially where speech is involved, it is nationality as manifested by culture and home language, which is decisive. The bilinguality

of the school and the structuring of the curriculum for the purposes of bilingualism depend on the languages used in the home. What permitted the creation of binational schools in Miami in the sixties was not the fact that the thousands of children entering the local school system were citizens of Cuba, but that their only home language was Spanish (Mackey & Beebe).[70]

Because multinational schools are often political or social accomodations, they may represent different things to different national groups. For the German pupils attending the Berlin binational school, the J.F. Kennedy Schule is a regular municipal school; for the American pupils it is a regular American school as for curriculum, but also a foreign school as far as language is concerned. For the others, it is basically an American school with a German accent.

Multinational schools are likely to differ widely in both structure and content. They differ according to the population for whom they are intended, the people by whom they are run, the purposes they aim to achieve and how they go about it. They may originally have been founded to answer the needs of children of the employees of international organization, as were the International schools in Geneva, New York and Paris. They may have been the result of treaty convention whereby children from member states are given reciprocal treatment. This has been the case of the European schools designed for children of public servants abroad, in the employ of the European Economic Community, each of the nine member states agreeing to supply special educational facilities for such children. Other countries have organized special education in schools containing large numbers of the children of migrant workers: the possibilities here depend on their concentration and on the number. Since Italian and Turkish groups in Germany each account for almost a quarter of the entire foreign work-force, the possibilities of accommodating their children in school are greater than they are for the Portuguese, who have accounted for about 2% of the foreign workers.[34]

Quite different are those hundreds of binational schools which are really national schools operating on foreign soil. In this category we must place the many American schools, French lycées and German Gymnasia to be found in many of the world's major cities. Most of these schools are attended by children of American, German, French and other nationals living abroad. Many also admit some of the local population interested in bilingualism and foreign certification for their children.

Secondly, multinational schools differ according to those who operate them. The control may be territorial or extra-territorial. Most of the schools on military bases are of the latter category. Territorial multinational schools may be controlled by local educational authorities, as are the Cuban-American schools in Miami. Others may operate within the framework of an international treaty obligation, as do most European schools of the EEC. Still others are the result of local initiative on the part of parents and teachers. And some, like the United Nations school and the Kennedy school, are the fruits of a judicious combination of parents' initiative, local support and some outside promotion. It is remarkable, however, that many of the most successful international schools are privately ran.

On the question of who operates them and for whom, some multinational schools have enough in common to be grouped into categories. We can distinguish the international school, the binational school and the continental or European schools.

The largest and oldest of the international schools are typified by the International School of Geneva, the United Nations International School in New York and the Lycée international de St-Germain in Paris. Each worked out its own formula.

Founded under the aegis of the League of Nations, the International School in Geneva took most of the period between the wars and some years after to arrive at a really viable formula. But its pioneering experiments in international education were invaluable in

providing a model for the organization of other international schools — particularly that of the United Nations in New York. The leadership for the United Nations school project was provided by two former League of Nations officials (Arthur Sweetser and Henri Laugier) who had helped found the International School in Geneva. Both insisted on private, step-by-step development through parent participation rather than richly endowed control from the international bureaucracy. In spite of these self-imposed limitations the UNIS was able to open its doors in New York in less than a year after the first session of the United Nations in 1946 and to obtain, the following year, the legal recognition of the U.N. (on May 6, 1948).[74]

Such schools, however, were not limited to children of international civil servants. The following decade witnessed the birth of a number of private international schools — some with official recognition — in many of the world's great cities: in Milan, in Berlin, in Belgrade, in Ibadan, in Amsterdam, in Santiago, in Paris and elsewhere. Some cities maintained more than one. In Paris, for example, another international school was founded in 1954. Here children, from kindergarten to university, worked in French and English; and from secondary school on, they could elect to use a third language. Since most of the pupils (75%) were French, this *Ecole active bilingue* also functioned as a private school, recognized through a *contrat d'association* by the French Ministry of Education. Because more than 20% of the pupils spoke English at home, that language became visible as a second medium of instruction.

In spite of their individual differences it is possible to characterize the international schools thus. Most are academically orientated; few, if any, are vocational or trade schools. All are internationally inclined and foster an international outlook. All operate in one or more international languages. The number and type of working languages are limited, some excluding the home-language of the student population. All operate on a single national model or on a composite of national models. Options for certification often include the home country degree, the host country equivalent and the international baccalaureate. Although the interaction of the pupils with the host community is not guaranteed, some schools include provision for inter group interaction in the structure of their programs.

In contradistinction to this type of school, the continental or European schools may be described thus. They are staffed by nationally certified teachers. They accept all nationals from the nine EEC member states. Their structure is based on the local national school system, offering pupils the option of staying in the local system or re-integrating into the schools of their country. There is teaching in the mother-tongue, although another language may be the main medium of instruction for school subjects. Each of the six language sub-sections is considered to have equal status. Controls are according to national standards; certification is the European baccalaureate, which is recognized by all nine member states. Some of the outstanding problems implied by national differences were solved at a meeting convened by the EEC and held in Brussels in November 1976.

A third group, the binationals, or national schools abroad also have their own differences. Although they may or may not use the language of the country in which they are situated, they invariably do use the language of the home country, which is more often than not, the mother-tongue of many of the pupils — although some develop into isolated ghetto-type monoglot institutions. Their structure may be quite simple, and in some cases, they may even be able to offer a number of non-academic subjects. They generally permit re-integration into schools within their own national systems, arranging for certification in the national homeland. Some schools use three languages: the home language, the host language and an international language.

Although the main types of multinational schools may be categorized into these three groups, within any one group there may be vast difference in the type and make-up of the population which the school is designed to serve. The school population may differ in

stability, homogeneity, origin of the pupils, their length of stay, their age-range, their language proficiency, their language behaviour, their inter-ethnic attitudes, their learning behaviour and the learning motivation of the parents. One may be a day school, with every one going home in the early evening. Another may be a residential boarding school with *absentia* parents. Some schools, like the JFK school, may have to deal basically with only two home-languages; others, like Atlantic College, may have students from 36 different language groups. Some like JFK, may serve a 13-year age range; others, like Atlantic College, may be restricted to adolescents. Some schools catering to the multinational or international bureaucracy may have an average length of stay of only two years; others intended for immigrants may have pupils for eight to ten years of schooling. In Germany fully 87% of the foreign students are in elementary schools (Grudschulen and Haupstschulen), 7% in Gymnasien, 3% in Realschulen, 2% in Sonderschulen and 1% in Gesamtschulen (Germany, Ministry of Culture).[3 4]

3. Aims and Structure

If multinational schools differ in whom is served and by whom, they also vary as to why they exist, what they aim to do and how they go about achieving it. Most multinational schools have both a utilitarian purpose and an idealistic aim. The utilitarian purpose is generally the accomodation of a special population — international civil servants, migrant workers, army personnel and the like. The idealistic aim may range from intercultural understanding to bilingual ability; although it may also be an accomodation between the forces of assimilation and those of cultural pluralism, between nationalism and the loss of national identity. The aims of the JFK school as stated in the Senate by-law of 1964 were to educate together pupils of different nationalities and to promote bilingualism and international understanding.

Denationalization of their children is a potential problem for all international civil servants, especially those intending to return to their home country, where their sons and daughters may become disgruntled exiles in their own land (Tampi 1957).[9 8] Parents on home leave have seen their children behave in a way that made them outcasts in their own society. If the heritage of the home country must in part be supplanted, international civil servants felt that it should be replaced not by that of another country but by a set of international values. What was needed, they thought, was a school that would place all national cultures in proper perspective enabling the child to adjust to his temporary environment without being absorbed by it. These were some of the aims which led to the founding of the United Nations International school in New York in 1946 (Malinowski & Zorn).[7 4]

The main aims of some multinational schools have to do with the development of bilingualism. Since teaching language as a subject has failed to achieve this, the use of a foreign language as a mean of communication linked with a study of the life and culture of the people was deemed to be preferable. Other schools aim to harmonize various ethnic elements, develop biculturalism, profit from the impressive language learning capacity of young children, while using the home language as the best instrument of learning (Andersson & Boyer).[2]

Many of the newly created international programs, especially in North American high-schools, are intended for the promotion of internationalism among the brighter students. This is the avowed purpose, for example, of the international baccalaureate program of the James Madison High School in Brooklyn, New York. But education for international understanding has long been practiced independently of multinational schools. Even since 1955 regular seminars have been organized for this purpose; by 1968 twelve such seminars had been held. In 1963 and 1964 the International Federation of Teachers' Association even carried out a pilot project in primary schools of five areas (France, Germany, United Kingdom, Switzerland and Berlin) with children ranging in age from 5 to 14 years (Lawson 1969).[4 9]

Because multinational schools have multiple aims and diverse populations their structures tend to be more complex than those of unilingual schools. One of the reasons for this complexity is that they have to account for the mother tongue of the pupils, their second-language proficiency and their point of entry. Such requirements necessitate different type of subject grouping, of language grouping and of bilingual grouping. And each group has to be flexible enough to meet the changing needs of a mobile population. The mobility of the population also creates problems of stability, not only on the part of the school but also on the part of the individual. If the school also caters to the local population, as does, for example, the JFK school in Berlin, there is a possibility of maintaining a student body more stable than that of a school for transients. The European schools, with a more stable population base, can also afford to provide more varied language instruction.

From the point of view of the individuals however, it is the stability of the curriculum which is most relevant. The need is to progress steadily in each of their subjects, so as not to waste time studying material that is far too easy, because it has already been mastered, while taking courses that are far too difficult because they are based on pre-requisites which the student has not had.

Related to this is the problem of re-integration. Students studying abroad do not care to do so at the expense of their careers at home. Nor are they interested in losing a few years because their work abroad is so different from that which they would have done at home that it is not recognized when they return. Accommodating such students is one of the big structural problems of multinational schools.

There is the equally difficult problem of integrating the newcomers into the new curriculum and providing them with the varied career orientation which they expect. Related to this is the wider question of acclimatization into the new environment. Retarded academic and psychological development and mental disturbances have been attributed to an overly rapid adaptation to a strange environment. This implies that the parents who themselves may be having problems of adaptation should also become involved. In its own way the multinational school functions as a liaison instrument between these parents and the host country. Upon arrival in a new environment, parents immediately encounter such problems as "Where to live, where to market and how to use unfamiliar products and food-stuffs. How to wash and clean. How to organize the family's daily life in an environment radically different from that which it had known. And, most important, how to make those adjustments and still maintain cultural traditions without appearing strange and eccentric to others" (Malinowski & Zorn).[74]

Part of the success of the JFK school in Berlin can be attributed to the involvement of parents and school in their mutual problems and the important role of two para-scholastic organizations comprised of parents (Mackey 1972).[55] One of the motives for parents participation in some of the international schools is that, being mostly private institutions, the families of the pupils may have to participate in the financing. This is true even for international public servants who may have to spend, over and above their educational allotment, in order to send their children to the right sort of school. The same is true for the families of the foreign staff of many multinational corporations.

In the European schools, however, each member-state supports, by convention, the education of the children of European public servants. Some of the binational schools, particularly the French, Italian and German receive government support for language instruction abroad.

A more difficult problem has been the financing of common endeavours which would give to multinational schools the needed standards. Because of the great expenditures implied, especially in the initial stages, it was too much to expect that these endeavours could be self-supporting. That is why so many of the initiatives of multinational schools,

alone or in concert, have been supported by foundations. For example, the International Schools Examinations Syndicate, which has been functioning independently since 1965, had to obtain financing from a group of foundations, including Ford, Gulbekian, Wenner, Gren, Dulverton and Twentieth Century, in addition to government agencies in England, Germany, the Netherlands, Unesco and a number of banks and corporations (Peterson 1972).[84]

The activities of this independent syndicate are of great importance to multinational schools since they help solve one of their basic and most important problems, that of certification. Left alone, the only alternative for a multinational school was either foreign certification or local certification. If it opted for foreign certification this implied that two years before university entrance, the entire student body be split into national group and revert to the study of their national syllabuses. If it decided on local certification, there was no guarantee that the certificate would be recognized for university entrance back home. It is true that some schools took this latter risk, while negociating bi-lateral agreements with the universities which their students desired to enter. One of the multinational schools which adopted this practice was Atlantic College whose student body comprised pupils from thirty-six nations. It was the first in the projeted chain of United World Colleges, as a basis for which a special international pre-university year (at sixth-form level) had been experimented at Dover College and Sevenoaks in England as an alternative to university study abroad. But the problem of international certification remained.

The idea of an international baccalaureate had long been an ideal which was discussed by educators both in and outside of the international schools movement. But it was not until 1962 that a serious attempt was made to implement the idea. It had already become a practiçal necessity at the Geneva International School, where adolescents had to be prepared for the College Boards of the United States, the General Certificate of Education (A-Level) of Great Britain, the *baccalauréat* of France and the *maturité* of Switzerland —each in small and increasingly expensive classes. It was normal that the International Schools Association should attempt to implement the idea. After years of study and development, the notion became a reality when an independent examining board was created to administer the degree. Today the international baccalaureate is recognized throughout the world, and hundreds of schools of all descriptions are attempting to prepare their students for this prestigious diploma.

Although designed primarily for multinational schools the international baccalaureate is now taken by hundreds of students from regular schools which offer its programme as an option. For some, it is a matter of giving an alternative with higher standards for the gifted students; it is for this reason that such institutions as the Immaculate Conception Cathedral High School in Memphis, Tennessee, the La Jolla Country Day School in California and the Southfield High School in Michigan, for example, have adopted the programme. But maintaining the programme as an extra is often expensive. Some smaller and more exclusive schools like the French-American Bilingual School in San Francisco have therefore simply adopted the international baccalaureate as their only programme, having done away with all types of purely local certification.

Essentially the international baccalaureate is a programme for university-level study in the liberal arts. Its two-year curriculum qualifies graduates for admission into universities throughout the world, in addition to one year of credit in American institutions. It is a well-structured language-oriented curriculum comprising six subjects: the native language, a second language, mathematics, science, the study of man and an elective — three of these at a higher level, and three at a subsidary level (for details, see Appendix). Most international schools offer this programme (see Table I). In addition, many regular national schools offer it as an option, including some two dozens in Canada and the United States (see Table II).

The most characteristic feature of the international baccalaureate curriculum, is its multilingualism. Language examinations are in the mother-tongue and in the second language, subject examinations in English or French, with the option of offering one subject in a language other than these. (see Appendix). The use of a language of wider communication is essential for most multinational schools, especially for those whose purpose is to provide continuity. Yet this language may be different from the local language and also different from the mother-tongue of most of the pupils. This means that some multinational schools must operate in three languages, while others are constrained to ignore dozens of different home languages spoken by small numbers of pupils from every quarter of the globe.

The bilinguality of a multinational school will thus depend on the use and distribution of its languages. All or part of the instruction may be in a language other than that of the home. Although bilingual multinational schools may offer no instruction in the home-language of most of the pupils, most such schools will accomodate the local language, at least as a subject.

4. Language Learning in Multinational Schools

The language learning advantage of such bilingual multinational schools depends on their bilinguality — not only on the bilinguality of the curriculum, but also on the bilingual make-up of the population. The proportion of subjects taught in each language and the time devoted to each are likely to have a considerable effect on the eventual bilingualism of the graduating student. The degree and type of bilingualism will also depend on the language preferences, abilities and usage of the teachers and the pupils and the amount of their bilingual-interaction. This interpupil interaction may be built into the very structure of the classes as it is in Berlin (JFK school) which stressed bilingual grouping and free language alternation (Mackey 1972).[55] Or the alternation may be controlled and scheduled as it is in the Miami bilingual public schools (Mackey & Beebe).[70]

From the point of view of bilingual education we can divide multinational schools into three categories; those which treat other languages as subjects, those which also use other languages to teach with, and those with achieve all or part of their bilingualism through interpupil interaction. Although these categories are not necessarily mutually exclusive, a mutual comparison of each is likely to throw some light on the problem of bilingual education in multinational schools. For purpose of easy identification let us call the first, the foreign-language option, the second, the bilingual curriculum and the third, the bicultural school. Let us examine how each of these in its own right contributes to the language learning of the pupil as it concerns the acquisition of meaning, the context of culture, social integration communication, and behaviour.

Understanding what is said or written and expressing one's meaning are the basic purposes of language learning. In acquiring the meaning of words, expressions and sentences, a pupil studying a foreign language as a subject is dependent for meaning on the teacher, the text or the model. He tends to become the recipient of a standard procedure for conveying meaning. Situations, if there are any, are necessarily artificial, tend to be stereo-type and can thus convey little or no emotive or social meaning. In general, most of the learning is limited to linguistic meanings, the manipulations of which often become exercices in sheer verbalism. If the pupil is using his foreign language to learn a subject however, much of the meaning and many of the meanings will be learned in the context of words used for specific purposes. Yet it is not necessary to have a mastery of a language in order to learn through it. Learning a new language and learning through it can be parallel activities (Mackey & Noonan).[62] In a bicultural context (the third option), the pupil may acquire meaning through experience in natural situations which impart to the words and expressions, not only a verbal sense, but also some social, cultural and emotional significances.

Secondly, there is the cultural dimension of language learning. How do our three types compare in this respect? The foreign-language learner comes to class equipped with a set of well entrenched cultural categories. He already has acquired a system of concepts, he already thinks and speaks along the lines fashioned for him by his own language, and these act as great barriers preventing him from thinking and saying in a different way things which he has grown so accustomed to expressing in his own language. He feels unable to restructure his entire experience without re-experiencing it in a new way. And this is difficult for him to do as a student, since he has to stimulate his first learning of his native language as an infant. After having been conditioned for many years to act like an adult, he is now expected to behave like a baby.

The degree of acculturation of the pupil attending a bilingual school, however, will depend on the type and number of subjects done exclusively or mostly in the foreign language. Some subjects, like mathematics and the physical sciences are closed conceptual systems in their own right, are basically the same in all cultures, and are unlikely to constitute a vehicle of acculturation. Contrariwise, many of the arts subjects, heavy with cultural connotation, are reservoirs of the allusions and overtones embodied in many of the words and expressions of a language. But the third type of pupil who learns his languages as a member of each of the ethnic groups of a bicultural school may become simultaneously, as it were, doubly acculturated. Each language becomes both a vehicle of thought and a means of thinking, that is, a system for conceptualizing the world of his experience. If he has started early enough in life, his mental growth occurs at the same time and at the same rate as his language growth, in both languages; so that he has acquired, as it were, two systems of thought, two patterns of culture. In becoming a member of a new language group, the pupil learns to structure his thoughts, his experience, his values, even his attitudes in conformity with the way these are structured by the group into which he is accepted — often going beyond what is required. In this way, he uses the other language to re-organize his conceptions of reality, to reshape his picture of the universe. Every language is a blueprint of the world. But it is a world belonging to the culture which has shaped it.

Eventual integration of the foreign language learner as one of the people whose language is being studied can only be a distant hope. No matter how great the effort, he has no such social rewards. Inside the language class he is as much a member of his own group as he is outside of it. No amount of make-believe can give him the assurance that he is accepted by the people whose language he is being taught. Nor is the learning of school subjects in a foreign language a means of social integration. It does, however, open wider prospects, especially if the subjects permit the learner to associate himself with the traditions and customs of the people. Contrariwise, a pupil who becomes bilingual through associating with two linguistic groups, may also become bi-ethnic. In learning another language, he becomes a member of another community. And he is richly repaid for his efforts to learn; for success brings him many attractive social and psychological rewards. He acquires a more sympathetic audience for what he has to say and a feeling of acceptance, in an atmosphere of empathy. He is integrated into a community, identifies himself as a member of another group and is in turn so identified. It is as if the members of the group had reasoned: "He speaks like one of us; therefore, he *is* one of us."

How is language as communication acquired by each of these groups? For the foreign language learner, the purpose of using the language is mainly linguistic. The prime motive is to get it right, not to make mistakes either in what he says or writes. This is because all communication taking place in the unreal world of the language class in which the student tries to use the language correctly, is often limited by inadequacy and inhibited by perfectionism. While the bilingual says what he wants, the language student simply says what he can. Although the pupil who studies school subjects in another language must indeed use the language for purposes that are not always linguistic, he is none the less and

most of the time at the receiving end of the communicative act. If there happens to be a lot of verbal give-and-take in the classroom, as is the case in many language-conscious bilingual schools, what is communicated is largely intellectual content — facts, opinions and references to the material being studied. Learning a language as a member of a group, however, implies the use of speech for the purpose of communicating. In a biethnic school, the pupil may learn language as communication and for purposes of communication. In communication, it is the result that counts. If the pupil uses language to get what he wants, he is successful insofar as he gets it. In some cases a few mumbled words may suffice both for understanding and for being understood; for the pupil's wide and varied background in the language plays a role in the decoding process. Often it is only a vague emotion that is communicated. Indeed, in learning to express himself in a second language, the expression of emotion often comes before the expression of thought.

Finally, what about the behavioral dimension? The foreign language learner does not have to acquire the new idiom as part of his behaviour. In the foreign-language classroom the student is required to learn language as language — perhaps with the distant hope of some day being able to use it as behaviour, as a reward for having undergone many long hours of suffering and boredom. If, however, the pupil must use the other language to learn school subjects, the speaking and listening involved does constitute a form of behaviour. But the behaviour is restricted to the classroom; it is, as it were, a form of specialized didactic behaviour. The pupil who acquires his other tongue through everyday interaction, however, does not learn language as language; he learns it as over-all behaviour. This behaviour has an effect upon his environment. It is often a substitute for action in that, the pupil uses his languages to get things done. In acquiring this behaviour, he learns these together as units of behaviour, and often holophrastically. These behaviour units are organized as a system which generates the desired responses on the appropriate occasion.[64]

It would seem therefore that multinational schools where interethnic and inter-linguistic interaction are a means of language acquisition are more likely to bilingualize their student population than are those schools lacking this feature. They are more likely to produce graduates who have acquired their other language in the context of action, are well integrated into the other community, use both languages to communicate and to get things done, while sharing the traditions of two cultures.

5. Language Problems of Multinational Schools

This facility in the use of another language, however, does have its price. For there are disadvantages. While successful foreign language instruction results in the correct use of the language, incidental or street bilingualism is characterized by language-mixture. If this remains uncorrected it may become habitual. In a school situation however, the continental presence of a standard model in each language may prevent such habits from developing, since the mixture, being largely unmotivated, is by its nature unstable. In some biethnic multinational schools, language classes can become lessons in keeping the language apart, as indeed is the case in some of the more successful schools of the type (Mackey 1972).[55] Where a model school population does not exist, as is the case of many of the uniethnic immersion classes, the group may actually develop a sort of interlanguage of its own. This has been observed in a number of immersion classes, like the Culver City experiment, for example (Cohen 1977).[16]

Most multinational schools — especially those made up of two language groups — are characterized by some of the same types of language mixture that one finds in any bilingual community, where no two individuals may have learned each of the elements of their two languages in exactly the same set of contexts. That is why most bilinguals, no matter how proficient, will have some difficulty keeping the two languages apart. Since each language is a highly complex systematization of the universe, it is not surprising if features of one

language slip into the utterances of bilinguals when they are speaking or writing the other.

The phenomenon, which is known as interference, affects all bilinguals — even those who make conscious efforts to avoid it. But the degree of interference varies greatly from individual to individual, ranging from almost imperceptible stylistic variations to the sort of obvious speech-mixture which sometimes results in the creation of a standard creole. Interference, however, is to be distinguished from language borrowing, which has to do with the direct or indirect influence of one language upon another. Borrowing results in changes in the code which become the permanent property of the language and enter into its subsequent development. A number of these changes may indeed be due to repeated instances of interference, standardized in the speech of bilinguals, especially during periods of mass bilingualism such as those responsible for the French and Scandinavian elements which are now part and parcel of present-day English. The nature and extent of such borrowing are determined by a number of social and linguistic factors. The social factors are the type, degree and duration of the bilingual contact. The types of bilingual contact are sufficiently exemplified by the two great bilingual periods of France — the Gallo-Roman and the Frankish periods — and in England by the Viking and Anglo-Norman periods. In these periods, the social contact between the two language groups differed in degree and duration because the historical conditions which determined them also differed. In addition to these social factors, there are such linguistic factors as the compatibility, structural function, class-size and frequency of the items borrowed. These affect the language as a system. Interference, on the other hand, affects the bilingual's use of one of his languages.

Within a single multinational school one notices a wide range of individual variation in the frequency and type of interference. And this is significant, since it precludes the formation of interlanguages and creoles. Like the often cited psychological disturbances of the immature bilingual, variations in these linguistic disturbances can be attributed to the difference in age, attitude, education and environment to be found in multinational schools.

It has been said that the younger a person is when he becomes bilingual, the fewer will be his language difficulties. It would be perhaps more accurate to say the nature of the difficulty varies according to age. Persons who become bilingual in childhood may have characteristics of proficiency and usage different from those who become bilingual as adults. Studies of cases where two languages were learned simultaneously in childhood have given us some indication of the process. There may, for example, be periods where the child seems to be welding two phoneme systems into one, but without any lasting effect on either language. There is also a great deal of forgetting on the part of the child. Indeed the child's reputed ability to remenber is matched by his facility to forget. Bilingualism for the child may simply mean a transition period from one native language to another. It has been demonstrated, for example, that children can transfer from one mother-tongue to another in a matter of months. Tits reports the case of a six-year-old Spanish girl who was suddenly placed in a completely French environment and, after only 93 days, seems to have lost her Spanish completely; in less than a year, she had a knowledge of spoken French which enabled her to pass for one of the neighbourhood children (Tits 1948).[101]

This adaptability of the child has been related to the physiology of the human brain. Penfield and other neurologists have put forth theories to explain the child's linguistic flexibility. Before the age of nine, it seems, the child's brain is particularly well suited to language learning, but after this age, the speech areas become considerably less flexible and the capacity to learn languages begins to decrease (Penfield & Roberts).[82] Certain teachers and psychologists, however, have claimed that there is no decline in language-learning up to the age of twenty-one.

It has now become quite evident that attitudes will have some effect on the type and degree of bilingual interference and on the intensity of language learning motivation. The attitudes may relate not only to the language itself, but also to the people who speak it. A

bilingual may harbour different attitudes toward each of his acquaintances and towards the various situations in which he is called upon to use each of his languages; these attitudes may carry over to the languages themselves. With some persons, he may be more intimate; with others, more respectful. In some situations he may have to be formal; in others, colloquial. In certain situations he may avoid using his second language if he thinks his accent is not good enough for the occasion; in other situations, he may use only his second language because he is ashamed of his first, especially if it is a small dialect, without much prestige. On the whole, the bilingual with favorable attitudes towards a group is likely to have less trouble identifying with that group and is consequently more likely to acquire a more native-like command of its language.

Another factor which determines a bilingual pupil's linguistic motivation and the type and amount of interference in his speech is the sort of education which he may already have had. He may have attended unilingual schools in either of his languages, or in both. He may have done his primary schooling in the language of his home, and his secondary schooling in the other language — or vice versa. Or he may have obtained all or part of his schooling in bilingual schools, with either parallel or divided curricula. He may, for exemple, have studied such subjects as geography and arithmetic in one language, and history and religion in another. He may even, at an early stage in his school career, have been the victim of too sudden a transfer of the medium of instruction from one language to the other, instead of a gradual and controlled language shift.

Finally, the environment in which the language has been acquired is to a large degree responsible for the result achieved. It makes a difference whether the language was that of the home or of the street, whether it was first learned in a unilingual country or in a bilingual ethnic community, whether it was used in a literate environment in the company of books, or simply as a spoken vernacular limited to trivial, everyday needs. Each environment may be favourable or hostile to the cultivation of either language; the results appear in the type and degree of the pupil's mastery of both languages (Mackey 1966 & 1976).[63 & 57] In the regular foreign language classroom, it is unlikely that the majority of language students will learn the foreign language so well as to be faced with the social and emotional problems of bilingualism. It is possible, however, with proper educational, organizational and administrative practices to reduce the impact of these problems as they affect the biethnic population of the multinational school.

6. Improving the Language Learning Potential

These practices require a good understanding of the dangers, the advantages and the disadvantages of natural, curricular and formal bilingualism. The bi-ethnic multinational school can greatly increase the quality and range of its student bilingualism by exploiting the advantages of all these types of language acquisition through the foreign language class, the bilingual curriculum and the structuring of interpupil interaction, while at the same time minimizing the disadvantages.

The disadvantages can be minimized through the proper sort of selection, correction, projection and integration. At the outset a proper selection has to be made on the likely assumption that bilingual education is not for everybody. People from broken bilingual homes for example, have been known in primary school to have had mental blockages of the language of the departed parent (Mackey 1972).[55] It is important, as early as possible, to identify pupils whose academic failure is language-related and to recommend their transfer to a more appropriate school.

Achieving correction in speech and writing has always been one of the difficulties of biethnic multinational schools. There are three ways in which such schools can promote correct speech. While avoiding purism, have all teachers, no matter what their subject, promote mixture-free speech and writing by immediately supplying the correct unilingual

form. This becomes easier to achieve in bilingual schools where all teachers are restricted to the use of their mother-tongue in instruction (Mackey & Beebe).[70] But it does prevent the sort of bilingual give-and-take that is natural in bilingual classes (Mackey 1972).[55] Much of the foreign language class should be devoted to teaching the more-or-less bilingual pupils how to keep their two languages apart. Since many students are likely to be at the advanced level, a conscious comparison of both languages can be most advantageous at this stage. Textbooks and workbooks for the training of translators have been found to be useful (Vinay & Darbelnet; Malblanc 1961).[105 & 73] There is now a vast literature on the differences between pairs of languages; these differences have even been subject to measurement (Mackay 1976).[57] Yet the practical purpose of such courses is not to do comparison for its own sake, but to enable the students to learn the subtle differences between their languages. The danger is that such a study tends to get too theoretical; avoid too much theorizing.

Thirdly, it is important that the bilingual learner may be able to make projections for his future. The school should supply an acceptable curriculum for him and make sure that it leads somewhere.

Finally, the pupil must not be left out of any of the constituent language groups. Let him become integrated into each of them. Schools therefore, should avoid attitudinial dichotomies which oppose *them* to *us*, and refrain from making an issue of cultural differences.

So much for avoiding or minimizing the disadvantages. How de we exploit the advantages?

1. Stress bilingualism in the context of action, in bilingual team projects, sports and games.
2. Make provision for many extra-curricular activities. Observe national holidays and integrate them in cultural and history curricula. Foster bilingual team-teaching in culture-related subjects.
3. Bring in the parents for guest talks in their home language, readings of nursery tales at the kindergarten level, and for the organization of extra-curricular activities. Encourage bi-ethnic home visits, the acceptance of house guests and parent-teacher meetings.
4. Avoid unilingual teams in sports. Encourage bilingual rather than unilingual groupings. Organize learning activities in bilingual pairs so that each may use his "partner" language.

Improving the quality and degree of bilingual education in a multinational school may require a re-appraisal of the language-balance within the institution. It may also imply an adaptation of the foreign language curriculum to the growing bilinguality of the school population and the innovation of language teaching techniques quite different from those used in the teaching of either the first or the second language. The teaching of content-subjects may also be modified in such a way as to favour language acquisition without loss of content learning. In sum, all the language-related resources of a multinational school can be used to increase its bilinguality.

TABLE I

INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS

(Members of the International Schools Association)*

Country	Institution	Address
CANADA	*Toronto French School,*	1375 Yonge Street, Toronto 7, Ontario
CEYLAN	*Oversea Children's School,*	61 Dharmapala Mawatha, Colombo 7
CHILI	*Santiago College for Girls,*	Casilla 3-D, Santiago
CYPRUS	*The English School,*	Nicosia
DENMARK	*Bjorns International Schools,*	Hartmannsvej 23, Hellerup
FRANCE	*Collège Cénevol,*	43 Le-Chambon-sur-Lignon
	Ecole Active Bilingue,	39 avenue de la Bourdonnais, Paris 7e
	Ecole Samuel Vincent,	30 Nîmes
	Lycée de Sèvres,	92 Sèvres
	The English School de Paris,	38 Quai de l'Ecluse 78 Croissy/Seine
	United Nations Nursery School,	14 rue Louis David, Paris 16e
GERMANY	*Anna-Schmidt—Schule,*	Fellnerstrass 1, 6 Frankfurt am Main
	Schule Schloss Salem,	Salem/Baden
	Schiller Gymnasium,	Hameln/Weser
	The John F. Kennedy School,	87-123 Teltower Damm, 1 Berlin 37
	Waldschulheim Breuer,	Prinz-Heinrichstrasse 21, Bad Aachen
	Progymnasium Haupt,	Alter Kaiserweg 4, Bad Harzburg
	Internationale Schule,	e. V. Waitzstrasse 31, 2000, Hamburg 52
GHANA	*Ghana International School,*	P.O. Box 2856, Accra
	Tema Parent's Association School,	P.O. Box 539, Tema
	The Ridge Church School,	P.O. Box 2315, Accra
GREAT BRITAIN	*Ackworth School,*	Nr. Pontefract, Yorkshire
	Atlantic College,	St. Donat's Castle, Llanwit Major, Glam
	Badminton School,	Bristol 9
	Bedales School,	Petersfield, Hants
	Box Hill School,	Mickleham, Dorking, Surrey
	Calday Grange Grammar School,	West Kirby, Wirrall, Cheshire
	City of Bath Boy's School,	Beechen Cliff, Bath
	Collegiate School,	Winterbourne House, Winterbourne Bristol
	Gordonstown School,	Elgin, Moray, Scotland
	Leighton Park School,	Reading, Berks
	Queen Anne's School,	Caversham, Berks

* 41, rue du XXI décembre, 1211 Genève 6, Suisse.

Country	Institution	Address
GREAT BRITAIN	*Queenswood School,*	Hatfields, Hants
	Richmond Lodge School,	85 Malone Rd, Belfast, N. Ireland
	St. Christopher's School,	Lechworth, Herts
	Tudor Hall School,	Wykham Park, Banbury, Oxon
	Whitgift Foundation,	Haling Park, Croydon, Surrey
INDIA	*The Rishi Valley School,*	Rishi Valley, P.O. Chittoor Dist., Andhra Pradesh, South India
IRAN	*The Community School,*	P.O. Box 13/1157, Tehran
	Iranzamin,	Box 14, 1245 Tehran
ITALY	*International School of Milan,*	Via Senato 28, Milan 20121
JAPAN	*Yokohama International School,*	253 Yamate-Cho, Naka-Ku, Yokohama
KENYA	*Hospital Hill School,*	P.O. Box 6754, Nairobi
LEBANON	*Brummana High School,*	Brummana
THE NETHERLANDS	*International School Eerde en Rehderoord,*	Ommen, De Steeg, Gld
	Stitchting International School,	Parkweg 27, Schveningen
	a) The American School,	Haagsestratt 38, The Hague
	b) Lycée Français,	Parkweg 19, The Hague
	c) International School of Dordrecht,	Dordrecht
	d) International School of Amsterdam,	Wechtstratt 77a
	The English School,	Tapijtweg 10, The Hague
	International Quaker School,	Kasteel Beeverwert, Werkhoven
NIGERIA	*International School of Ibadan,*	Ibadan
PAKISTAN	*Farm View International School,*	Indira Road, Tejgaon Dacca 15
SIERRA LEONE	*International School of Freetown,*	P.O. Box 85
SWEDEN	*The Anglo-American School,*	Johannesgatan, 18 Stockholm
	Viggbyholmsskolan,	Viggbyholm
SWITZERLAND	*International School of Geneva,*	62 Route de Chêne, 1208 Geneva
	Inter-Community School,	Seefeldquai 41, 8008 Zurich
	Chateau Brillantmong,	16 avenue Secrétan, Lausanne
	Commonwealth-American School,	Avenue Rambert 2, Lausanne
	Lycée des Nations,	Bellevue 1293 Genève
	Pestalozzi Kinderdorf,	Trogen
	United Nations School,	1 avenue de la Paix, 1201 Geneva
	Voralpines Knabeninstitut,	Montana, Zugerberg
TANZANIA	*Tanganvika International School,*	P.O. Box 2651, Dar-es-Salaam
URUGUAY	*The British School,*	Maximo Tajes 6400, Montevideo
U.S.A.	*Allen Stevenson School,*	132 East 78th Street, New York
	Cardigan Mountain School,	Canaan, New Hampshire 03741
	Carnbrook School,	Bloomfield Hills, Michigan 48013
	Catlin Gabel School,	8823 S.W. Barnes Road, Portland Oregon 97225

Country	Institution	Address
U.S.A.	*Chatham Hall,*	Chatham, Virginia
	Colorado Academy,	P.O. Box 4628, Denver, Colorado
	Colorado Rocky Mountain Sc.	P.O. Box 327, Carbondale, Colorado
	Colorado Springs School for Girls,	26 Pourtales Rd, Broadmoor
	Cottingham School,	206 23rd Ave. No. Indian Rock Beach, Florida
	Far Brook School,	Shot Hills, New Jersey
	Fountain Valley School,	Colorado Springs, Colorado
	Friends Central School,	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19951
	Graland School,	30 Birch Stree, Denver 20, Colorado
	Greenhill School,	Route 5 Box 734, Dallas Texas 75234
	Greenfield High School,	4800 S. 60th St, Greenfield, Wisconsin
	Hawken School,	Cleveland 24, Ohio
	Horace Mann School,	231 West 46th Street, Bronx, New York 10471
	Katherine Branson School,	Box 887, Ross, Cakifornia, 94957
	Howard School for Girls,	West Bridgewater, Massachussets 02379
	Kent School,	3401 S. University Boulevard, Englewood, Colorado
	Lennox School,	170 East 70th St., New York 10021
	The Maret School,	3000 Cathedral ave, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20008
	Millbrook School,	Milbrook, New York
	National Cathedral School for Girls,	Woodley Rd, Washington, D.C.
	Nightingale-Bamford School,	20 East 92nd Street, New York
	Northfield School for Girls,	East Northfield, Massachussets
	Park School,	25 Kennard Road, Brookline 46 Massachussets
	Park School,	Old Court Road, Brooklandville, Maryland
	Phillips Exeter Academy,	Exeter, New Hampshire 03839
	Rutgers Preparatory School,	1345 Easton Avenue, Somerset, New Jersey
	Shipley School,	Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
	Stockbridge School,	Interlaken, Massachussets 01266
	St. Timothy's School,	Stevenson, Maryland
	Stoneleigh Prospect Hill Sc.,	Greenfield, Massachussets
	United Nations International School,	418 East 54th Street
	Willinston Academy,	P.O. Box 70, Easthampton, Massachussets
	William Penn Charter School,	School House Lane & Fox St. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19144
	Woodstock Country School,	So. Woodstock, Vermont 05071
	Happy Valley School,	Ojai, California 93023
VENEZUELA	*Academy La Castellana,*	Apartado del Este 11320, Caracas
YUGOSLAVIA	*Belgrade International School,*	c/o the American Embassy, Belgrade

TABLE II

THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE IN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

(Qualified North American institutions offering the I.B. programme in 1978)

CANADA:

Ashbury College, Ottawa, Ontario
John Abbot College, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Quebec
Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific, Victoria, B.C.
The Toronto French School, Toronto, Ontario
York House School, Vancouver, B.C.

UNITED STATES:

The Daycroft School, Greenwich, Connecticut
Detroit Country Day School, Birmingham, Michagan
Drew College Preparatory School, San Francisco, California
Francis Lewis High School, Fresh Meadows, New York
The Franklin School, New York, New York
The French-American Bilingual School, San Francisco, California
James Madison High School, Brooklyn, New York
La Jolla Country Day School, La Jolla, California
Mercer County Community College, Trenton, New Jersey
Polk Community College, Winter Haven, Florida
St. Katharine's / St. Mark's School, Battendorf, Iowa
Ulster County Community College, Stone Ridge, New York
United Nations International School, New York, New York
Washington International School, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX

LANGUAGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE *

All examinations other than those for Language A or Language B are written in English or in French. Upon entering for the examination the candidate indicates the working language that he selects. A school may, however, submit a proposal to the International Baccalaureate Office to offer one subject from the study-of-man group written in a language other than English or French (e.g., history in Swedish, Danish, or German). The direct date considers such proposals, which must be made at the beginning of the school year in which the examinations is to be taken and accedes to them wherever possible.

Language A, in the terminology of the International Baccalaureate, is the pupil's 'best' language in which he pursues his normal course of studies, the language in which all teaching (other than that of modern languages) is given in his school, and the one in which he does his written and oral work. In many cases it will not be his mother tongue, but it is nevertheless treated as such at the secondary-school level. There may be more than one Language A in the same school, if it runs parallel language sections, between which there can be combined courses.

The emphasis in Language A is on a study in depth of literature enabling the pupil to penetrate not only the fundamental style of the language itself, but also the kind of understanding of the ethos of a people that emerges from the detailed study of literary masterpieces. It is in Language A that the pupil will study world literature in translation.

In exceptional cases — for instance, where a pupil has recently joined an international school — he may offer his mother tongue as Language A, although it is not the teaching language of the school. In such cases he would have to get some special help with the literary part of the course.

Language B is the language which the student chooses as his second examination language. It will usually be for him a foreign language, but if he is being taught in a language other than his mother tongue, Language B may, in fact, be his mother tongue. Though Language B is for him a second language in terms of the examination, his knowledge of the relevant culture and civilization will be tested as well as his ability to use the language.

The following recommendations concerning the choice of Language A and B are made for guidance of schools:

> Language A should be the best language, both oral and written.
>
> Candidates should choose as either Language A or B (Higher Level) the language used in the university of their choice.
>
> Candidates may feel marginally more fluent in their mother tongue, but may find that choosing the school's language of instruction as Language A means that they will receive more effective teaching.
>
> A candidate may offer two Languages A.

The range of language options includes both Latin and Classical Greek. Candidates may also offer any of the less common languages; any language proposed for Language B must provide a range of literature comparable to that required in the main languages. The following modifications may be made in the general scheme:

* (Source: A.D.C. Peterson, *The International Baccalaureate*. London; Harrap 1972.)

a) A candidate may offer, either as Language A or as Language B, any language provided it possesses a literature which allows for the study of authors and works as required in the syllabuses (for Language A and B). The written and oral examinations will be conducted by the International Baccalaureate Office and evaluated by national examiners to ensure a standard of attainment equivalent to that which they themselves require for university entrance.

b) A candidate may substitute a second Language A for Language B.

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